

According to these terms of the act, a law by the territorial legislature interposing obstructions to the intro-

tion of slavery might be considered in force until approved by Congress—unless, indeed, the judiciary should decide it to be “inconsistent with the terms of the compact” between the States and the Union. In the event of future events, a delicate case for the action of Congress. If Congress was to disapprove the law, it might be said that the federal government wished to thrust upon every citizen the responsibility of the will of the people. If Congress should have the power to make any action in such a case, leaving the law to work itself out, it might be said that the government consented to the operation of the law. If Congress should sanction the Wilmot Proviso in an indirect manner, it might be said that the government consented more able to form safe conclusions by a view of the circumstances that might attend it at the time of its occurrence. But even in a case it should occur, what would be the result? It would be to give the people a right to be the slaveholding interests of the South.

any one believe that there is a sane man—naveholder—who, if a premium or bounty of fifty cents per acre were offered by the legislature of any State, or for the introduction of a slave into the land, would be induced to take his slave property to the high snows, inaccessible hills, and boundless wastes of Utah and New Mexico, or to that vast line of land which is so far from the reach of the slave, that earthly inducement could carry him there with his slaves. Slaves were, to all intents and purposes, capital—much so as the machinery of a manufacturing establishment. They were, in fact, the life of the State, of a personal nature; and the ownership of slaves was intensive and undesirable, unless compensated for by some way to pay dividends, or at least to defray expenses. And slave labor being employed in any one of the States, it was inevitable that some would indemnify themselves by the sale of slaves to the slaveholder of such capital in transplanting it there!

...the slaves to be had to take there? Why
 ...the States comprising more fertile soil and greater than any-
 ...for the employment of that sort of labor than any-
 ...of the southern States. The truth was, and
 ...the slave and never would have, to cultivate
 ...territory now open to slave labor. The very
 ...in amount of new slave population, compared with
 ...within the limits of the fifteen slaveholding States
 ...existing, must force every national mind to the con-
 ...for a long series of generations there could
 ...be employment for all those who were
 ...have been available for sale.

slavery given in connection with landed interests, and the slaveholder, by the value of the property, was thereby giving value to the other, and both constituting the fixed or most permanent part of the wealth of the community where situated. Slaveholders generally did not emigrate, and their property was not portable, as such large tracts as they generally held in the slaveholding communities implied the necessity of a small slave population to replace the portions emigrating. The limited number of slaves compared with the territory we have could not much longer supply this condition of the slaveholding States now organized.

The area of the slaveholding States now organized including over nine hundred thousand square miles, and the area of the non-slaveholding States, including California, amounted to something like six hundred and fifty thousand square miles, thus showing the former, with a far smaller population, to be more than twice the size of the latter.

[illegible]

proportionate numbers and increase of the white population, its pressure upon the slave population, and influence upon the distribution of land. The slave population of the North was estimated at one-third of the whole population of the South, and one-fifth of the whole population of the United States. The slave population of the South amounted to somewhat near 1,000,000, or about one-seventh of the total population of the Union, even ten years ago; and its rate of increase was not far from 45 per cent. every ten years. Upon such a basis, one could easily see how the increase would tend to intensify the competition between the two populations at any given number of years hence. The increase of the white population at the South, though not so rapid heretofore as at the North, has been steadily increasing since the Revolution, without confederacy, or any other political

view of such a prospect, could any reasonable man expect that the South would find great relief to her system of slave labor in the proximity of territory, even in Mexico and Utah, for settlement by her own hardy and enterprising people? Would it not be a serious loss to the more of the territory of Mexico be desirable to her in this purpose? Might it not tend to relieve a pressure—current conflict that sometimes arises in the distant West between the wants of large and small capital, and the possession and culture of large bodies of land for slave labor on the other? Might not the proximity of the federal jurisdiction of such territory, undoubtedly though, be in an important degree as a sort of safety

to relieve pressure, resulting from the rapid and disproportionately increase of white population in the South, for the means of relieving the pressure were all here yet; if there had been no territory for them, and others like them in other neighborhoods to go to, would there have been room for them to operate as it was done in the acquisition and retention of slave labor of the rich lands within our borders?

The non-slaveholding part of the white population at the South, it was well known to all who had any knowledge of the course of things in the wilderness, who went out, hunted over, and located upon the rich belts of land Capital, in the form of slave labor, followed them into such districts as afforded them the opportunity to purchase their own land, added to them, and converted the whole

large fields teeming with cotton, sugar, tobacco, corn and other grains. But beyond the confines of the plantation, the life of the New Mexican of Utah, he believed capital, in the form of slave labor, would extend itself, and for the two reasons—that, that we not a sufficient number of slaves to allow capital to extend itself so far; that, that form, and yet, that if we had slaves, we have the course of its expansion would be towards the tropics.

As the course of future events, he saw influences and necessities which would make the valleys and habitations between the mountain ranges and wide plains the abode of the hardy sons of the South; and, under such aspects of the subject, could it be said that the South had interest, no lot nor share, in the settlement and development of these territories.

He said, in answer to the question, as to the Texas

The result of the matter was, that such individuals were proposed as secured to her some two hundred and forty thousand square miles of territory, with the additional offer of ten millions of acres of land, and the guarantee to the inhabitants of said territory, both north and south of 36 deg. 30 min., "to be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may provide." The bill was passed by the House, and by the resolutions of annexation for the territory north of that line. The people of Texas, however, had experienced what it was to be from under the rule of the Union, might be safely trusted to deal with the matter as they saw fit, and not exclusively, interested to them.

The bill for the recovery of fugitive slaves was just passed as a measure as the senators and representatives of

filled it up with a law of their own liking. The enactment of such a law, under such circumstances, affords as strong evidence as the nature of the case admitted a determination on the part of the law-making power